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ACTION AF-01

RELEASED IN FULL

INFO	LOG-00	CIAE-00	C-01	OASY-00	DODE-00	HA-09	H-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	L-01	ADS-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	OMB-01
	PA-01	PM-01	PRS-01	P-01	SNP-00	SP-00	SS-00
	TRSE-00	T-00	USIE-00	RPE-01	/019W		
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R 181720Z FEB 94
FM AMEMBASSY KIGALI
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5777

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 KIGALI 00777

FOR AF/C FROM AMBASSADOR

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR/N/A
TAGS: PGOV, RW
SUBJECT: NEXT STEPS

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

BASIC PRINCIPLES

2. EXPERIENCES OF THE PAST MONTH SUGGEST SOME BASIC PRINCIPLES WHICH OUGHT TO GUIDE OUR CONSIDERATION OF FURTHER INITIATIVES IN LAUNCHING RWANDAN TRANSITION INSTITUTIONS HERE IN KIGALI. THESE INCLUDE THE NECESSITY OF RWANDANS FINDING THEIR OWN SOLUTION, THE IMPORTANCE OF INTERNATIONAL COHESION AND THE

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INEVITABILITY OF TIME'S ONWARD MARCH.

AN ALL-RWANDAN SOLUTION

3. THE FINAL SOLUTIONS TO THIS IMPASSE MUST BE ALL-RWANDAN AND THIS INCLUSIVE OF MAJOR POLITICAL FORCES. SRSG BOOH BOOH'S ATTEMPT TO FORCE INSTALLATION ON 2/14 BACKFIRED IN PART BECAUSE HE MISREAD RWANDAN CONTEXT, NOT REALIZING THAT THE 14TH WAS THE DATE SET FOR PM-DESIGNATE TWAGIRAMUNGU'S

COURT TRIAL, AND, IN PART, BECAUSE HE DID NOT HAVE SUPPORT FROM A MAJOR PART OF THE POLITICAL LANDSCAPE. OUR ABORTED MEETING WITH ALL PARTIES ON 2/16 PROVED HOW POLITICALLY UNREPRESENTATIVE IS THE GROUP OF PRIME MINISTER'S ALLIES WHO GATHERED AROUND

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THE TABLE. ONLY THE RPF HAD ANY WEIGHT AND THAT WAS MILITARY AND INTELLECTUAL. THE OTHER LEADERS AROUND THE TABLE REPRESENTED SMALL PARTIES AND MINIMAL ELECTORAL BASE. ANY SOLUTION THAT DOES NOT INCLUDE THE PRESIDENT'S PARTY AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S OPPONENTS IN THE MDR IS A NONSTARTER. ONLY RWANDANS CAN FIND A FORMULA THAT WILL BRING THOSE TOGETHER WITH RPF AND THE PRIME MINISTER'S PEOPLE.

COHESION IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY

4. RWANDANS DESPERATELY TRIED TO SPLIT BILATERAL OBSERVERS FROM THE UN EFFORT THIS WEEK IN ATTEMPT TO GET AROUND SRSG BOOH BOOH. THEY FAILED BECAUSE OBSERVERS CONSCIOUSLY PULLED THE UN BACK IN AND KEPT

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THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY FLANKS DRAWN-IN TIGHT. SUCH COHESION HAS ITS LIMITS: MULTILATERAL DEMARCHES LOSE THAT SPECIAL PERSONAL TOUCH WHICH IS OFTEN THE DIPLOMAT'S KEY TO PERSUASION; HARD MESSAGES ARE DIFFICULT TO CONVEY IF ALL HAVE TO AGREE TO THE CONTENT. BUT THE FORMAL WEIGHT OF A COMBINED INTERNATIONAL VOICE FAR SURPASSES ANY TACTICAL BENEFIT OF INDIVIDUAL BILATERAL APPROACHES.

THE PRESS OF TIME

5. THE PEACE PROCESS IS SLOWLY GOING FORWARD HERE AS POLITICIANS GET TO KNOW EACH OTHER BETTER AND BEGIN TO PERCEIVE THE OTHERS' CONCERNS AND AMBITIONS. THE UN PRESENCE IS ALREADY ESTABLISHING A TRANSITION ATMOSPHERE. THE SECURITY SITUATION HAS BEEN GENERALLY CALMER. UNFORTUNATELY, HOWEVER, THE WORLD CLOCK DOES NOT PERMIT A BECALMED, GET-ACQUAINTED PERIOD FOR RWANDAN POLITICIANS. THE ECONOMIC CLOCK IS TICKING; THE COUNTRY IS OUT OF MONEY; INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS ARE OUT OF TIME. THE INEVITABLE REASSESSMENT OF THE UN MISSION HERE IS ALSO ON THE NEAR HORIZON. RWANDANS MUST MOVE FORWARD

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OR LOSE THIS GREAT OPPORTUNITY. THE PACE OF POLITICAL
COMPROMISE AND ACCEPTANCE MUST SOMEHOW CATCH UP WITH
THE SPEED OF THE INTERNATIONAL TIMETABLE.

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RECOMMENDATIONS

6. OUR COUNTRY TEAM MET 2/17 TO BRAINSTORM OPTIONS
FOR NEW INITIATIVES. GIVEN THE ABOVE PRINCIPLES
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(RWANDAN SOLUTIONS, INTERNATIONAL COHENSION AND
SPEEDY IMPLEMENTATION), WE HAD TO DISCARD SOME OF OUR
BEST IDEAS. FOR EXAMPLE, THE IMPASSE BEGS FOR
PROFESSIONAL FACILITATION, AN ALL PARTIES' RETREAT,
OR A RENEWED FORMAL NEGOTIATION IN AN ARUSHA-TYPE
STRUCTURE. BUT, THESE CONFLICT RESOLUTION TACTICS
TAKE MORE TIME THAN THE TICKING CLOCK WOULD SEEM TO
ALLOW. SIMILARLY, TAILORED DEMARCHES FROM DIFFERENT
DIPLOMATS APPROACHING PERSONS WITH WHOM THEY WERE
MOST FAMILIAR MIGHT CONVINCE A PARTICULAR PARTY BUT

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 KIGALI 00777

FOR AF/C FROM AMBASSADOR

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WOULD GIVE THE IMPRESSION OF A DIVIDED INTERNATIONAL APPROACH.

7. ANOTHER OPERATIONAL CONSTRAINT WAS THE IMMINENT ARRIVAL OF THE BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER AND MINISTER OF INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION, A VERY HEAVY-WEIGHT ON THE DELEGATION. WE DECIDED WE SHOULD AWAIT THE RESULT OF THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S VISIT BEFORE LAUNCHING NEW INITIATIVES. FINALLY, THE EUROPEAN UNION HAS ISSUED NEW INSTRUCTIONS TO ITS AMBASSADORS HERE FOR A FORMAL DEMARCHE, SHOULD THERE BE NO

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FURTHER PROGRESS. WE OUGHT TO CLOSE RANKS WITH THAT EFFORT.

8. IN VIEW OF THE ABOVE, WE RECOMMEND:

(1) INFORMAL SUPPORT IN THE MARGINS FOR THE MESSAGE WHICH THE BELGIAN FOREIGN MINISTER BRINGS: THAT RWANDAN LEADERS QUICKLY TAKE UP THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THEIR PEOPLE AND THEIR NATION BY LAUNCHING THE INSTITUTIONS. IN THIS REGARD, I HOPE TO MEET INFORMALLY WITH PRESIDENTIAL ADVISORS OVER THE WEEKEND AND IVJJHBFEUHE PRESIDENT AND PM-DESIGNATE IN CONJUNCTION WITH EUROPEAN UNION AMBASSADORS. (THEIR LANGUAGE PARALLELS LANGUAGE WHICH THE STATE DEPARTMENT GENERATED TWO WEEKS AGO.) THIS WOULD TAKE PLACE TOWARDS THE END OF NEXT WEEK IF THERE WERE NO PROGRESS ON INSTALLATION.

(3) A TELEPHONE CALL FROM A/S MOOSE TO THE PRESIDENT AND PM-DESIGNATE FOLLOWING UP THIS FOUR-PARTY DEMARCHE. THE CONTENT OF THE CALL WOULD DEPEND ON THE EVOLUTION OF CIRCUMSTANCES AND REACTION TO THE

DEMARCHE NEXT WEEK.

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(4) FINALLY, I PROPOSE TO CALL GERMAN PEACEMAKER
RUDOLPH DECKER, WHO HAS KNOWN PRESIDENT HABYARIMANA
FOR SEVERAL YEARS IN THE CONTEXT OF NATIONAL PRAYER
BREAKFAST ACTIVITIES. I WILL ASK DECKER IF HE FEELS
LIKE ENCOURAGING HIS OLD FRIEND TOWARDS ACTION ON
BEHALF OF THE RWANDAN NATION. DECKER FOLLOWS HIS OWN
LIGHTS, BUT SHOULD HE CHOOSE TO TALK TO THE

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PRESIDENT, HE MIGHT BE ABLE TO BRING HIM TO SOME
REASON. RAWSON

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